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ABSTRACT

Assessing the economic progress of blacks in the United States during the last decade and a half, this special report is divided into eight chapters. Chapter I provides an overview of the report noting the overall conclusion that the economic position of blacks (as well as that of other racial minority groups and of poor whites) is not likely to change much through the rest of the decade if national economic policy remains on its present course. In chapter II, the main contours of economic growth are traced--strong expansion during the 1960s and relative stagnation since. Trends in the black labor force, employment, and unemployment in recent years are analyzed in chapter III. The changing occupational and industry structure of black employment is examined in chapter IV. Chapter V appraises the impact of the Equal Employment Opportunity program on the job gains of blacks. Chapter VI discusses black employment in the public sector. The changing position of blacks with the distribution of income during the last decade and a half is discussed in chapter VII. Finally, the long-term outlook for income and employment is appraised in chapter VIII. Appendix tables illustrate the following information: civilian labor force participation rates for persons sixteen years and over by color, sex, and age (annual averages, 1959-74); civilian labor force by color, sex, and age (1959-75); employment by color, sex, and age (1959-75); and unemployment rates by color, sex, and age (1959-75). (JH)

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The Economic Position of Black Americans: 1976

A Special Report of the
National Commission for Manpower Policy
Special Report No. 9
July 1976

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FOREWORD

This special report is the complete version of a shorter paper that Professor Andrew F. Brimmer* prepared for the American Assembly on Manpower Goals for American Democracy, held at Arden House on May 20-23, 1976. The National Commission for Manpower Policy cooperated with the American Assembly in organizing the national conference, and undertook the responsibility for preparing the background papers, one of which was written by Professor Brimmer. The eight papers are being published by Prentice-Hall under the title Jobs for Americans, edited by Eli Ginzberg.

Professor Brimmer's paper represents, in my opinion, the most exhaustive and authoritative treatment of the economic position of blacks in the year of our Bicentennial. Professor Brimmer has assembled and analyzed readily available materials, as well as some of those that are not so easily tappable, that provide basic information about the employment, occupational industry attachments, and income of black people. But he has done more: he has developed his materials with an eye to changes in the American scene, so that he can differentiate the period of sustained economic and job advances, 1961-69, and can contrast these years with the period 1970-75, which saw the economy characterized by fits and starts before it entered upon its most severe recession (1974-75) since World War II. Professor Brimmer also charts the beginning of the economic recovery from the 1975 low point.

Among the other strengths of the paper is Professor Brimmer's careful disaggregation, which enables him to deal separately with men and women, youth and older persons, the better- and the less-educated, those in the South and those in the North, and a great many other sources of differentiation. It has long been disturbing to me that most scholars and community leaders continue to treat the problems of the black minority of almost 25 million persons

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* Dr. Brimmer is at present Thomas Henry Carrol-Ford Foundation Visiting Professor at the Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University.

as if all blacks are part of a homogeneous group. Nothing could be further from the truth. Admittedly, those who are concerned about the continuing adverse position of blacks in American society as a result of centuries of unfair treatment are reluctant to emphasize that an increasing proportion of blacks are improving their jobs and incomes. They fear that such a finding would lessen the weak commitment of our society toward the many who continue to require special assistance. Among the important contributions that Professor Brimmer makes is that he deals with both the pluses and the minuses. He refuses to ignore or slight the important gains that many blacks have made and are continuing to make, even while he throws a searchlight on the many who continue to be mired in poverty and afflicted by unemployment.

The National Commission for Manpower Policy, concerned as it is with the design of policies and programs that can contribute to the fuller development and utilization of the nation's human resources--all its human resources, black as well as white, women as well as men, youth as well as older persons, residents of the inner city as well as those in rural areas--is pleased to be the instrument through which Professor Brimmer's important paper can be made available to all concerned citizens.

ELI GINZBERG
Chairman

I. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, an assessment is made of the economic progress of blacks in the United States during the last decade and a half. This assessment is made against the background of the changing rate of economic growth in the economy as a whole. The focus is primarily on the experience of blacks during the decade of the 1960s and during the five years 1969-74. The impact of variations in economic activity on the employment and incomes of blacks is examined in some detail.

The picture that emerges from the inquiry is a mosaic of both progress and stagnation. In general, blacks are moving ahead on the economic front, but a number of divergent trends are evident. The implications of some of these developments for the future of blacks--and for that of other minority groups generally--are potentially serious.

The evidence on which this conclusion is based is presented in some detail in the rest of this paper. In Chapter II, the main contours of economic growth are traced. The strong expansion in overall economic activity during the decade of the 1960s stands out clearly. Likewise, the relative stagnation since 1969--a period during which the economy was wracked by intense inflationary pressures and two recessions, the latter of which was the worst since the end of World War II--is also unmistakable. These developments have been particularly detrimental to blacks. In Chapter III, trends in the black labor force, employment, and unemployment in recent years are analyzed. The changing occupational and industry structure of black employment is examined in Chapter IV. In Chapter V, the impact of the Equal Employment Opportunity program on the job gains of blacks is appraised. Chapter VI discusses black employment in the public sector. The changing position of blacks with respect to the distribution of income during the last decade and a half is discussed in Chapter VII. Finally, the long-term outlook for income and employment is appraised in Chapter VIII. On the basis of the evidence presented here, it is clear that the

economic position of blacks--as well as that of members of other racial minority groups and of poor whites is not likely to be eased very much through the rest of this decade if national economic policy remains on the present course. For that reason, it is vital that the federal government pursue a more vigorous policy to promote economic expansion.

II. CONTOURS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

The principal factor influencing the employment opportunities for blacks during the last decade and a half has been the behavior of the national economy. Partly because of the strong upsurge in economic activity during the 1960s, blacks improved their situation relative to the country as a whole. However, because of the economic stagnation between 1969 and 1974--which, in turn, was due to two recessions and one of the worst bouts of inflation on record--blacks did worse than the rest of the nation during the last five years.

The principal trends in output, employment, and prices during the years 1959-75 are shown in Table 1. The strong growth in economic activity is evident. For example, gross national product (GNP) in current dollars rose at an average annual rate of 7.5 percent. After corrections for price changes real GNP advanced at an average annual rate of 4.8 percent over the same period. Industrial production expanded at an even faster pace, recording an annual average increase of 5.3 percent. During these years, the pace of inflation was extremely moderate. The GNP deflator (the most broadly based of the price indexes) rose at an annual average rate of 2.6 percent, and the consumer price index (CPI) rose at the same rate. The wholesale price index (WPI) rose even more slowly--at 1.5 percent per year.

Reflecting these real improvements, total employment rose rapidly and unemployment fell sharply. Between 1961 and 1969, the civilian labor force expanded at an annual average rate of 1.7 percent. However, new jobs were created at an even faster pace (2.1 percent per year), and the level of unemployment declined at an annual average rate of 3.0 percent.

The recession that began in late 1969 checked these improvements and ushered in a period of stagnation that is still with us. Gross national product (measures in current dollars) rose at an

Table 1
Trends in Output, Employment, and Prices: 1959-75

CATEGORY	1959	1961	1969	1974	1975	Change 1959-69	Change 1961-69	Change 1969-74	Change 1974-75	Average Annual Percentage Change 1959-69	Average Annual Percentage Change 1961-69	Average Annual Percentage Change 1969-74	Average Annual Percentage Change 1974-75
OUTPUT													
GNP (Current Dollars, $ Bil.)	483.7	520.1	930.3	1,397.4	1,477.5	446.6	410.2	467.1	80.1	6.8	7.5	8.5	5.7
Real GNP (1958, $, $ Bil.)	475.9	497.2	725.6	823.2	797.7	249.7	228.4	95.6	-23.5	4.3	4.8	2.2	-2.9
Industrial production (1967=100)	64.8	66.7	110.7	124.8	113.4	45.9	44.0	14.1	-11.4	5.5	5.3	2.4	-8.7
EMPLOYMENT (Thousands)													
Civilian labor force	68,369	70,459	80,734	91,101	92,658	12,365	10,275	10,367	1,557	1.7	1.7	2.4	1.7
Employment	64,630	65,746	77,902	85,936	84,787	13,272	12,156	8,034	-1,149	1.9	2.1	2.0	-1.7
Unemployment	3,739	4,713	2,832	5,165	7,871	-907	-1,881	2,333	-2,706	-2.7	-3.0	12.8	52.4
Unemployment Rate (Percent)	5.5	6.7	3.5	5.6	8.5	-2.0	-3.2	2.1	2.9	---	---	---	---
PRICES													
GNP Deflator (1958=100)	101.7	104.6	128.2	170.2	185.2	26.5	23.6	42.0	15.0	2.3	2.6	5.8	8.8
Wholesale Price Index (1967=100)	94.8	94.5	106.5	160.1	174.8	11.7	12.0	43.6	14.7	1.1	1.5	8.5	9.2
Consumer Price Index (1967=100)	87.3	89.6	109.8	147.7	161.1	22.5	20.2	37.9	13.4	2.3	2.6	6.1	9.1

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics

annual average rate of 8.5 percent between 1969 and 1974. But most of this expansion was attributable to inflation, since the GNP deflator rose by an annual average rate of 5.8 percent. Over the same years, real GNP recorded an annual average rate of increase of only 2.2 percent. Industrial production expanded at an average rate of 2.4 percent. Although total employment rose at an average rate of 2.0 percent, the labor force expanded even more rapidly--by 2.4 percent a year. Consequently, the level of unemployment climbed dramatically. By late 1973, a recession was definitely underway, and the downtrend in economic activity continued until the second quarter of 1975. At the trough, real GNP was about 8 percent below the peak set in the final months of 1973. Industrial production fell by 14 percent, and the capacity utilization rate in manufacturing declined from 83 percent to 66 percent. In the nine months ending in the second quarter of 1975, about 2.5 million jobs were lost. Since the labor force continued to expand, the total number of persons out of work rose from 5 million in the third quarter of 1974 to 8.2 million in the second quarter of 1975. During the same period, the unemployment rate climbed from 5.5 percent to 8.9 percent.

The recovery that got underway in the summer of 1975 was led by a modest rise (about 4 percent) in real consumer spending--which, in turn, was stimulated by the $20 billion reduction in personal income taxes adopted in the spring of 1975. As 1975 unfolded, the rise in spending by the household sector gathered strength; and a marked slackening in the pace of inventory liquidation as 1975 drew to a close was another source of support for total economic activity. The pace of recovery, however, was moderate by historical standards. Although the pace of inflation was moderating rapidly in late 1975, the outlook was for a continuation of high levels of unemployment and a considerable backlog of excess capacity. This was clearly not an environment in which blacks and members of other minority groups--along with poor whites--could expect to prosper.

III. TRENDS IN LABOR FORCE, EMPLOYMENT, AND UNEMPLOYMENT

In 1975, there were 10.5 million blacks[1] in the labor force. Blacks held 9.1 million jobs, and 1.5 million were unemployed. In the same year, the civilian labor force totaled 92.6 million. Total employment averaged 84.8 million, and 7.8 million persons were idle. Thus, in 1975, blacks made up 11.4 percent of the civilian labor force, 10.7 percent of total employment, and 18.6 percent of total unemployment (see Appendix Tables 2, 3, and 4). Behind these figures, however, is a picture of black participation in the labor market that has been both variable and distressing. The general dimensions of the situation among blacks are generally known. It might be helpful, however, to sketch the highlights in broad outline.

A. Trends in the Black Labor Force

Before the actual changes in the black labor force are looked at, long-term trends in the black labor force participation rate[2] should be noted. The actual figures are shown in Appendix Table 1. During the last few years, the black labor force participation rate has continued to decline. This decrease was more pronounced than long-run trends in participation warranted. Much of the decrease continued to be among adult men. For example, for all black males 16 years of age and over, the participation rate dropped from 76.9 percent in 1969 to 73.3 percent in 1974. Among men aged 20 to 24, the sharp drop experienced over the preceding decade appears to have been arrested, and the rate has actually improved somewhat in the last few years. As recently as 1969, the participation rate for this

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1/ Most of the statistics relating to blacks as used in this discussion refer to "Negroes and other races." Blacks constitute about 92 percent of the persons in this statistical category, used by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

2/ The labor force participation rate is the total labor force expressed as a percentage of the noninstitutionalized population.

group was 84.4 percent. The rate fell to 81.5 percent in 1971 and 1972 but it climbed moderately to 82.1 percent by 1974. In a similar vein, white men in the same age group increased their participation rates during the last five years from 82.6 percent in 1969 to 86.5 percent in 1974. Black workers in the experienced age group (25-54) continued to show declines in participation. Moreover, although decreases were particularly sharp during the 1970-71 recession, the drops in participation rates over the five year period, as a whole, were greater than during the expansion period of the mid-1960s and sharper than among the black workers' white counterparts. It seems reasonable to conclude that the period of economic stagnation during the last five years--combined with the rapid growth in the number of better-educated young workers--may have produced an economic climate discouraging to adult black males, particularly those with few skills.

In general, labor force participation rates for older black workers have declined in line with rates for whites. The 1969-74 period, however, saw a sharp drop in participation among black men and women 55 to 64 years of age that was not experienced among their white counterparts. The decline may have been a direct response to the sluggish economic growth that has prevailed over the last five years, as well as to continued high unemployment levels. As a result, many of these workers became discouraged in their job search and left the labor force. Also, these older workers may have been replaced by younger workers during the 1972-73 period, when the economy was able to achieve a fairly respectable real rate of growth.

Adult black women aged 20 to 34 kept their participation rate essentially unchanged during the last five years, and increases were experienced in the age groups 25-34 and 35-44. But these increases did not come about as fast as did those registered by white women in the same age categories. The participation rates among black youths fluctuated substantially from year to year, but they generally remained below the rates of the 1960s. The participation rates for black teenagers

were also significantly less than the rates for white teenagers.

The principal dimensions of labor force expansion during the last five years (as well as during the decade of the 1960s) are presented in Appendix Tables 2-5. These data show the levels and changes in the civilian labor force, employment, and unemployment--by color, sex, and age. The figures also show blacks' share of each of these labor market measures for the same time periods.

Several characteristics of the changing black labor force stand out in these data. During the sustained expansion of the national economy from 1961 through 1969, the black labor force rose in line with the total civilian labor force. Therefore, blacks as a fraction of the total remained unchanged at 11.1 percent. Among blacks, as well as among whites, adult women and youths of both sexes accounted for a larger share of the rise in the labor force during the 1960s than they represented at the beginning of the decade. But in the last five years, the black labor force expanded much more rapidly than the labor force as a whole. However, since the blacks' share of total employment remained essentially unchanged (at 10.8 percent), the incidence of unemployment among blacks rose steadily.

B. Trends in Employment

During the 1960s, blacks got a moderately larger share of the increase in employment than they had at the beginning of the decade. In 1961, they held 10.4 percent of the total, but they accounted for 12.8 percent of the expansion in jobs between 1961 and 1969. Within the black group, adult females got a relatively larger share of the expanded jobs than did black men. This pattern paralleled that evident among whites. On the other hand, black youths made virtually no progress toward improving their relative employment position during the decade. This situation was in sharp contrast to that among white youths. In 1961, black teenagers had 0.6 percent of the total jobs and in 1969, they held 0.8 percent. White youths expanded their share of total employment from 5.6 percent to 7.0 percent over these years.

Between 1969 and 1974, as already indicated, the share of total employment accounted for by blacks as a group remained unchanged at 10.8 percent. But the share of total jobs held by adult black males and teenagers of both sexes edged off slightly--from 5.7 percent to 5.6 percent and from 0.8 percent to 0.7 percent, respectively. The fraction of total jobs held by adult black females rose from 4.3 percent to 4.5 percent. Among whites, adult males' share of total employment declined from 52.6 percent in 1969 to 50.8 percent in 1974. The proportion of jobs held by white females and teenagers of both sexes rose moderately.

These broad shifts in employment should be kept in mind. Other major changes in the trend and composition of black employment are examined further in subsequent sections of this paper.

C. Trends in Unemployment

Between 1961 and 1969, the total number of workers without jobs dropped by 1,883,000. This decrease reflected the recovery from the 1960-61 recession, as well as the substantial growth of the economy during the decade. Over these same years, unemployment among blacks declined by 400,000. This reduction was about in line with the decrease in joblessness in the economy generally, and blacks' share of total unemployment was roughly the same in 1969 (20.2 percent) as it was in 1961 (20.6 percent).

On the other hand, the distribution of unemployment within the black community changed significantly. Among black adult males and black adult females, the level of unemployment decreased over the decade--as did unemployment among all components of the white group. But among black youths, the level of unemployment was 34,000 higher in 1969 than it was in 1961.

Between 1969 and 1974, the total number of workers without jobs rose from 2.8 million to 5.1 million. Blacks accounted for about one-fifth of this increase--roughly the same as their share of total unemployment in 1969. The experience among sex

and age groups within the black community was essentially the same as that among their white counterparts. The relative rise in joblessness among adult males was noticeably greater than that which occurred among both adult women and teenagers of both sexes. During 1975, under the impact of the worst recession since World War II, the level of total unemployment jumped to 7.8 million. Blacks acccunted for about 16 percent of this increase. In general, in terms of its demographic characteristics, this rise in unemployment represented an extension of the pattern that had prevailed during the preceding five years.

During the 1973-75 recession, the labor market experience of blacks differed substantially from that of their white counterparts. For example, during the worst part of the recession, from September 1974, through April 1975, the total civilian labor force continued to expand. In contrast, the black labor force declined somewhat--with the decreases concentrated among adult males and teenagers of both sexes. During the same period, blacks lost their jobs at almost double the rate experienced by whites. For example, in September 1974, blacks held 10.9 percent of the total jobs. But during the succeeding seven months, they accounted for 21.7 percent of the recession-induced decline in employment. About 17.5 percent of the climb in total joblessness over this period was borne by the black community. Moreover, with the beginning of recovery during the summer of 1975, blacks were called back to their jobs at a somewhat slower pace than was the case among whites. In addition, the actual level of unemployment among black teenagers was still on a rising trend at the end of the year.

For the economy as a whole, the total unemployment rate averaged 8.5 percent in 1975. For blacks, the average for that year was 13.8 percent, and for whites, it was 7.8 percent. Thus, the black-white ratio was slightly less than the historic 2 to 1. However, this was due to the severity and duration of the recession (which brought an enormous increase in joblessness among whites, as well as among blacks) rather than to any basic relative

improvement in the position of blacks in the economy. The unemployment rate among all teenagers averaged 19.9 percent in 1975, but it was 36.9 percent among black teenagers and 17.9 percent among their white counterparts.

As indicated above, as 1975 drew to a close, the worse recession the country has seen since the Great Depression was definitely over. But it was clear that the nation would be faced with an exceptionally high rate of unemployment and a large backlog of unused plant capacity for a number of years. In the face of that outlook, it was also clear that the deep pessimism within the black community regarding its economic future was thoroughly justified.

IV. CHANGING STRUCTURES OF BLACK EMPLOYMENT

At this juncture, we can take a closer look at the principal changes in the composition of black employment in recent years. These changes can be seen in both the occupational and the industry distribution of black workers.

A. Occupational Distribution

The extent of the occupational changes among black workers can be traced in Table 2. The advancement in the range of jobs held by blacks in the decade of the 1960s is quite noticeable. This fact is particularly true of the improvements in the highest-paying occupations. Between 1959 and 1969, the number of blacks in professional and technical positions increased by 129 percent (to 695,000), while the increase in all occupational structures was only 51 percent (to 10.8 million). Blacks had progressed to the point where they accounted for 6.5 percent of the total employment in these top categories in the occupational structure in 1969, as compared with 4.3 percent in 1959. They got about 11 percent of the net increase in such jobs over the decade. During this same period, the number of black managers, officials, and proprietors (the second-highest-paying category) rose by almost three-fifths (to 254,000), as compared with an expansion of 15 percent (to 8.0 million) for all employees in this category.

In the 1960s, black workers left low-paying jobs in agriculture and household service at a rate about 1 1/2 times faster than did white workers. The number of black farmers and farm workers dropped by 57 percent (to 356,000), in contrast to a decline of about 38 percent (to 3.3 million) for all persons in the same category. Therefore, in 1969, blacks accounted for about 10.8 percent of employment in agriculture--substantially less than their share in 1959, when the proportion was 15.5 percent. The exit of blacks from private household employment was even more striking. During the decade of the 1960s, the number of blacks so employed fell by 27 percent (to 714,000); the corresponding drop for all workers was only 16 percent (to 1.9 million). Although roughly half of all household workers were black in 1959, the ratio had declined to just over

Table 2
Employed Persons 16 Years and Over by Occupation Group and Color: 1959, 1969, and 1974

OCCUPATION	1959					1969					1974				
	TOTAL		BLACK			Total		Black			Total		Black		
	Number	Per Cent Dist.	Number	Per cent Dist.	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent Dist.	Number	Per Cent Dist.	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent Dist.	Number	Per Cent Dist.	Per Cent of Total
TOTAL EMPLOYED	64,627	100.0	6,621	100.0	10.2	77,902	100.0	8,383	100.0	10.8	85,936	100.0	9,316	100.0	10.8
WHITE COLLAR WORKERS (total)	27,593	42.7	954	14.4	3.5	36,865	47.3	2,198	26.2	6.0	41,739	48.6	2,977	32.0	7.1
Prof. & Tech.	7,140	11.1	304	4.6	4.3	10,769	13.8	695	8.3	6.5	12,338	14.4	970	10.4	7.9
Managers & Adm. (ex. farm)	6,936	10.7	163	2.4	2.4	7,987	10.3	254	3.0	3.2	8,941	10.4	379	4.1	4.2
Sales Workers	4,210	6.5	83	1.3	2.0	4,692	6.0	166	2.0	3.5	5,417	6.3	214	2.3	4.0
Clerical Workers	9,307	14.4	404	6.1	4.3	13,397	17.2	1,083	12.9	8.1	15,043	17.5	1,414	15.2	9.4
BLUE COLLAR WORKERS (total)	23,993	37.1	2,728	41.2	11.4	28,237	36.2	3,590	42.9	12.7	29,776	34.7	3,748	40.2	12.6
Craftsmen	8,554	13.2	389	5.9	4.5	10,193	13.1	709	8.5	7.0	11,477	13.4	874	9.4	7.6
Operatives	11,816	18.3	1,321	20.0	11.2	14,372	18.4	2,004	23.9	13.9	13,919	16.2	2,041	21.9	14.7
Nonfarm Laborers	3,623	5.6	1,018	15.3	28.1	3,672	4.7	877	10.5	23.9	4,380	5.1	833	8.9	19.0
SERVICE WORKERS (total)	7,697	11.9	2,109	31.9	27.4	9,528	12.2	2,239	26.7	23.5	11,373	13.2	2,337	25.1	20.5
Private Household	1,948	3.0	973	14.7	49.9	1,631	2.1	714	8.5	43.8	1,228	1.4	474	5.1	38.6
Other Service Workers	5,749	8.9	1,136	17.2	19.8	7,897	10.1	1,525	18.2	19.3	10,145	11.8	1,863	20.0	18.4
FARM WORKERS (total)	5,344	8.3	830	12.5	15.5	3,292	4.3	356	4.2	10.8	3,048	3.5	254	2.7	8.3
Farmers & Farm Mgrs.	3,013	4.7	232	3.5	7.7	1,844	2.4	84	1.0	4.6	1,643	1.9	64	0.7	3.9
Farm Laborers and Supervs.	2,331	3.6	598	9.0	25.7	1,448	1.9	272	3.2	18.8	1,405	1.6	190	2.0	13.5

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Manpower Report of the President, 1975, Table A-15, p. 225, and Table A-16, p. 227.

two-fifths by 1969. The number of black nonfarm laborers declined (by 14 percent to 877,000) over the decade, but the total number of laborers rose somewhat.

Nevertheless, the accelerated movement of blacks out of the positions at the bottom of the occupational structure did not flow evenly through the entire occupational structure. For example, in 1969, blacks still held about 1.5 million of the service jobs outside of private households--most of which required only modest skills. This figure represented about one-fifth of the total--roughly the same as the proportion in 1959. Moreover, the number of blacks holding semiskilled operative jobs (mainly in factories) rose by 52 percent (to about 2.0 million) during the decade, as compared with an expansion of only 22 percent (to 14.4 million) for all workers. The result was that blacks' share of the total climbed from 11 percent to 14 percent. Taken together, these two categories of lower-skilled jobs (chiefly in factories or in nonhousehold services) accounted for a somewhat larger share (42 percent) of total black employment in 1969 than they did in 1959, when their share was about 37 percent. In contrast, among all employees the proportion was virtually unchanged--29 percent at the beginning of the decade and 27 percent at its close.

Although blacks made substantial progress during the 1960s in obtaining clerical and sales jobs--and also registered noticeable gains as craftsmen--their occupational center of gravity remained anchored in those positions requiring little skill and offering few opportunities for further advancement. At the same time, it is also clear from the above analysis that blacks who were well prepared to compete for the higher-paying positions in the upper reaches of the occupational structure did make measurable gains during the 1960s. Nevertheless, as compared with blacks' overall participation in the economy (11 percent of total employment), the occupational deficit in white collar employment--amounting to roughly 40 percent--remained quite large in 1969.

Data on occupational distribution of total employment by color in 1974 are also shown in Table 2. In general, these figures show the mixed experience of blacks in the last five years. Blacks' share of total jobs remained unchanged, at 10.8 percent. However, between 1969 and 1974, blacks raised their share of professional and technical jobs. The number of blacks employed in white collar jobs rose by 779,000--a gain of 35 percent. The number holding blue collar jobs in 1974 was 158,000 above the 1969 level, an increase of only 4 percent. Within the blue collar group, the rate of expansion was particularly slow in the case of operatives, and the number of nonfarm laborers actually declined over the five-year period. In both cases, the changes were mainly a reflection of the fact that total employment in the manufacturing sector (in which a sizable proportion of blacks are employed) expanded rather slowly between 1969 and 1974.

B. Industry Structure of Black Employment

The industry distribution of black employment can be traced in Table 3. In 1968, about 24.2 percent of black jobholders were employed in manufacturing. The corresponding proportion for total employment was 27.2 percent. By 1972, the corresponding figures were 24.1 percent for the total and 22.6 percent for blacks. Over the same four years, however, blacks' share of total jobs in manufacturing climbed slightly (from 9.6 percent to 9.9 percent). The extent to which blacks--as compared with all workers--have found jobs in other industries is also shown in Table 3. For instance, the proportion of the black work force employed in transportation and public utilities rose somewhat between 1968 and 1972--from 4.3 percent to 5.0 percent. The proportion for all workers was essentially unchanged--at about 5.8 percent. A sizable divergence, however, is evident in the trade field, in which 13.8 percent of blacks (in contrast to 20.0 percent of the total) found jobs in 1972. These figures were essentially the same in 1968. A smaller (but still noticeable) divergence can be seen in the case of finance, insurance, and real estate--which accounted for 5.2 percent of total employment, as compared with 3.2 percent of black

Table 3
Average Weekly Earnings and Industry Distribution of Total and Black Employment: 1968, 1972, and 1974

INDUSTRY	1968 Percentage Distribution		1968 Black Employment by Industry[1]	1972 Percentage Distribution		1972 Black Employment by Industry[1]	1974 Percentage Distribution		1974 Black Employment by Industry[1]	1968 Earnings Index	1968 Black's Share of Employment	1972 Earnings Index	1972 Blacks' Share of Employment	1974 Earnings Index	1974 Blacks' Share of Employment
	Total	Black		Total	Black		Total	Black							
Average Weekly Earnings										$107.73	10.8	$135.78	10.6	$154.45	
Total: Number (Thousands)	75,920	8,169		81,702	8,628		85,936	8,112	10.8						
Total: Per Cent	100.0	100.0	10.8	100.0	100.0	10.6	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	5.0	5.4	11.6	4.2	3.6	8.9	3.8	3.0	7.3	---	---	---	---	---	---
Mining	0.7	0.2	3.0	0.7	0.3	4.5	0.9	0.3	3.0	132.5	27.8	137.1	42.5	143.0	27.8
Construction	5.3	4.9	10.0	5.7	5.0	9.2	6.7	5.0	8.7	153.1	92.6	164.4	86.8	161.3	80.6
Manufacturing	27.2	24.2	9.6	24.1	22.6	9.9	23.9	26.0	10.2	113.7	88.9	133.6	93.4	114.0	95.3
Durable Goods	16.0	14.0	9.4	14.0	12.8	9.6	14.8	15.0	9.7	122.6	87.0	123.2	90.6	123.6	88.9
Lumber	0.9	1.8	21.9	0.8	1.5	19.4				96.9	202.8	99.7	183.0	100.5	
Furniture	0.6	0.6	10.7	0.6	0.6	10.2				93.1	99.1	91.0	96.2	88.4	
Stone, Clay & Glass	0.8	0.9	11.3	0.8	0.8	11.0				116.0	104.6	120.7	103.8	121.2	
Primary Metals	1.7	2.2	14.0	1.5	2.0	13.9				137.1	129.6	143.1	131.1	151.2	
Fabricated Metals	2.2	1.7	8.3	1.7	1.3	8.2				122.3	76.9	120.8	77.4	121.2	
Machinery	2.9	1.2	4.4	2.5	1.3	5.6				131.3	40.7	132.1	52.8	134.7	
Electrical Machinery	2.6	1.8	7.7	2.3	1.7	7.7				109.6	71.3	109.5	72.6	107.5	
Transportation Equip.	3.1	3.0	10.4	2.4	2.6	11.6	2.1	3.0	11.4	144.6	96.3	146.0	109.4	142.3	105.6
Instruments	0.7	0.3	5.0	0.6	0.3	4.8				112.0	46.3	110.7	45.3	109.3	
Miscellaneous	0.6	0.6	9.4	0.8	0.6	8.4				91.4	87.0	90.2	79.0	87.2	
Nondurable Goods	11.2	10.2	9.8	10.1	9.8	10.3	10.0	11.0	10.4	101.2	90.7	101.5	97.2	101.0	96.3
Food	2.4	2.7	12.2	2.1	2.2	11.2	2.0	2.0	10.0	106.0	113.0	107.1	105.7	100.4	92.6
Tobacco	0.1	0.3	26.3	0.1	0.3	33.8				87.3	243.5	87.2	318.9	102.4	
Textiles	1.4	1.2	9.5	1.2	1.5	13.4				84.5	88.0	83.0	126.4	81.4	
Apparel	1.7	2.1	12.8	1.7	2.1	12.9				74.1	118.5	69.2	121.7	68.0	
Paper	1.0	0.7	7.9	0.8	0.7	8.6				121.5	73.2	123.9	81.1	122.9	
Printing	1.5	0.9	6.2	1.5	0.7	5.0				123.7	37.4	125.1	47.2	121.0	
Chemicals	1.5	1.2	8.1	1.3	1.1	8.8				126.5	75.0	129.3	83.0	130.6	
Petroleum	0.3	0.2	7.4	0.3	0.3	11.1				147.9	68.5	154.2	104.7	154.4	
Rubber	0.7	0.6	8.7	0.7	0.6	9.0				112.5	80.6	109.0	84.9	105.4	
Leather	0.5	0.4	8.6	0.4	0.3	8.3				79.3	79.6	76.4	78.3	72.5	
Transportation & Public Utilities	5.9	4.3	7.9	5.8	5.0	9.1	6.0	7.0	9.6	128.9	73.2	138.1	85.9	141.3	88.9
Trade	18.6	13.4	7.7	20.0	13.8	7.3	19.9	13.0	6.9	80.2	71.3	78.1	68.9	76.6	63.9
Wholesale	3.4	2.4	7.7	3.7	2.3	6.6	3.8	2.0	6.0	113.5	71.3	113.7	62.3	113.1	55.6
Retail	15.2	10.9	7.7	16.3	11.5	7.4	16.1	11.0	6.8	69.6	71.3	66.8	69.8	65.4	63.0
Finance, Insur., & Real Estate	4.7	2.4	5.5	5.2	3.2	6.6	5.7	4.0	6.6	94.5	50.9	94.5	62.3	90.8	61.1

Table 3 (Cont'd.)
Average Weekly Earnings and Industry Distribution of Total and Black Employment: 1968, 1972, and 1974

INDUSTRY	1968 Percentage Distribution		1968 Black Employment by Industry[1]	1972 Percentage Distribution		1972 Black Employment by Industry[1]	1974 Percentage Distribution		1974 Black Employment by Industry[1]	1968 Earnings Index	1968 Blacks' Share of Employment	1972 Earnings Index	1972 Blacks' Share of Employment	1974 Earnings Index	1974 Blacks' Share of Employment
	Total	Black		Total	Black		Total	Black							
Services	27.4	25.8	16.0	17.9	23.9	14.1	26.5	35.0	13.0	78.3	148.2	79.9	133.0	82.5	120.4
Private Household	2.6	10.2	42.8	2.1	7.5	38.4									
Miscellaneous	14.8	15.6	11.4	15.8	16.4	11.0									
Government	15.3	19.3	13.6	16.4	22.6	14.6									
Federal	3.0	4.3	15.3	2.7	4.4	17.1									
State	0.8	0.6	7.7	0.8	0.6	7.8									
Local	1.8	1.8	10.9	1.8	1.9	10.9									
Other Govt. (not specified)	9.6	12.6	14.1	11.0	15.7	15.1									

[1]Negro and other races.

Sources: (1) U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (1968 and 1972 figures for blacks from unpublished data).
(2) Data for blacks in 1974, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1974," Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 54, July, 1975, Table 51, p. 76.

employment in 1972. Yet these industries did become a somewhat more important source of black jobs during the four-year period. On the other hand, blacks were overly represented in services (23.9 percent of employed blacks versus 17.9 percent of the total) in 1972.

In manufacturing, blacks were found employed particularly in heavy industry. They were found especially in industries producing transportation equipment (mainly automobiles); in primary metals (particularly steel); in electrical equipment; in food and related products; and in apparel. Although blacks held about 9.9 percent of the total jobs in manufacturing as a whole in 1972, in several industries their share of the jobs was considerably higher. Thus, as shown in Table 3, in 1972, their shares were tobacco, 33.8 percent; lumber and wood products, 19.4 percent; primary metals, 13.9 percent; apparel, 12.9 percent; food processing, 11.2 percent; stone, clay, and glass, 11 percent; transportation equipment, 11.6 percent; furniture, 10.2 percent; and textiles, 13.4 percent.

In weighing these figures on black employment in manufacturing, however, one should not conclude that blacks have found an equal chance for advancement in the nation's factories. This is far from the case. To a considerable extent, the industries with large numbers of black employees are those in which numerous jobs are unpleasant and routine or those that require great physical strength or unusual endurance. Moreover, blacks are typically found in the lower-paid blue collar occupations requiring only limited skills.

The foregoing discussion was based on special tabulations prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the author's request in 1973. The tabulations were based on information reported monthly to the Bureau of the Census in its household survey. In 1975, the Bureau of the Census published some summary figures that permit an updating of the

categories shown in Table 3.[3/] These data shown that no basic changes occurred in the industry distribution of employment between 1972 and 1974. However, mainly because of the impact of the recession, blacks' share of the total jobs in construction declined moderately. Their share of total jobs in manufacturing edged up a bit, but the proportion of jobs held by blacks in trade fell slightly.

Still another aspect of the industry distribution of black employment can be seen in Table 3. These data shown average weekly earnings and blacks' share of industry employment in 1968 and 1972--and some fragmentary figures for 1974. These figures are expressed in terms of index numbers. The average weekly earnings in all private industry and blacks' share of total employment are taken as the base (that is, equal to 100). Weekly earnings and blacks' share of employment in specific industries are then expressed as a percentage of the base.

Several conclusions are suggested by these data. In general, blacks tend to have a disproportionate share of the jobs in low-wage industries, and they tend to be underrepresented in high-wage industries. For example, among the low-wage manufacturing industries are lumber, tobacco, textiles, and apparel. In all of these, blacks' share of the total jobs in 1972 was well above their share of all jobs in the private sector. In contrast, among the high-wage industries, only in primary metals; in stone, clay, and glass; and in transportation equipment (particularly automobile manufacturing) did blacks have an above-average share of the total jobs. Among the high-wage manufacturing industries in which blacks were noticeably underrepresented are fabricated metals; machinery (both electrical equipment and

3/ "The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1974," Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 54, July 1975.

nonelectrical varieties); instruments; paper; printing and publishing; and rubber. They were similarly underrepresented in transportation and public utilities; wholesale trades; construction; and mining.

Between 1968 and 1972, blacks made some progress in migrating from low-wage to high-wage industries, but in several cases they became even more heavily represented in low-wage sectors. For example, blacks' share of total jobs declined somewhat in lumber and furniture manufacturing; in food processing; and in services--all low-wage industries. They also expanded their share of employment in a number of high-wage sectors: electrical machinery; transportation equipment; paper; chemicals; petroleum; and transportation and public utilities. On the other hand, blacks' share of total employment rose in tobacco, textiles, and apparel, in which wages are below average. Their share eased off somewhat in printing and publishing and in wholesale trade, in which wages are above average.

Detailed data were not available for 1974, but the fragmentary figures shown in Table 3 suggest that no basic changes occurred in the industry distribution of black employment during the 1972-74 period. In general, the discussion above suggests that blacks have been making modest progress in recent years in finding job opportunities in the better-paying sectors of the economy. At the same time, however, they have also been becoming more heavily concentrated in some of those industries in which earnings remain well below the national average.

V. IMPACT OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM

Over the last decade, blacks have given a great deal of support for the national policy aimed at creating equal employment opportunities launched in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This provision created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which began operations on July 2, 1965. However, EEOC started life with a number of handicaps, and it was not until 1972 that the Commission got enforcement powers of its own. Once the new authority was implemented, in March 1973, EEOC could initiate civil actions in federal courts to enforce the provisions barring job discrimination and to remedy instances of their violation. Coverage of the statute was extended to employees of state and local governments and their instrumentalities, employees of educational institutions, and firms or labor organizations with 15 or more workers or members. Additional protection was also provided for federal government employees.

Armed with this new authority and an enlarged budget, EEOC in the last few years has accelerated its drive against employment discrimination--concentrating on sex and language bias as well as on racial barriers. It achieved a landmark settlement of its suit against AT&T in January 1973, which called for cash payments (mainly to blacks and to white women) in excess of $50 million in compensation for past discrimination and as bonuses for transferring to better-paying jobs. The Commission has also worked out agreements in trucking, steel, and other industries that will yield greatly improved job opportunities for blacks in the years ahead.

A. Mixed Pattern of Job Expansion

Given the efforts of EEOC to broaden job opportunities for blacks and other minorities (and more recently for women), one can naturally ask just what has been the impact of the campaign. Unfortunately, no direct answer can be given. But the indirect evidence does suggest that the Commission's activities

are having generally favorable results. Employers, trade unions, and others covered by the statute are required to report the racial and sex composition of their work forces to the Commission at least once a year. So far, EEOC has required annual reports from those with 100 or more employees. On the basis of these reports, one can get a fairly good idea of the changing composition of jobs held by blacks as compared with others. Table 4 shows total and black employment in EEOC-reporting firms by major occupational categories, for 1966 and 1974. Corresponding figures for all nonfarm employment reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) in the U.S. Department of Labor are also shown.

Several conclusions stand out in these data. Black employment in EEOC-reporting firms rose much faster than employment in the economy as a whole. For instance, blacks accounted for 23 percent of the growth in jobs in EEOC-reporting firms, as compared with 15 percent in the total. Within the white collar category, however, only clerical workers and sales workers recorded relatively larger gains on EEOC-reported payrolls (42 percent as compared with 21 percent and 12 percent as compared with 9 percent, respectively). In the case of professional and technical workers, EEOC figures show blacks getting 11 percent of the increase in jobs, as compared with 14 percent for black professionals and technicians in the economy at large. The lag was especially noticeable among managers and officials. In the country as a whole, blacks accounted for 11 percent of the expansion; their share in EEOC reports was only 7 percent. In contrast, blacks got a much larger share of the new craft and service jobs in EEOC-reporting firms--for example, 27 percent of craft jobs, as compared with 15 percent for all firms; and 26 percent of service jobs, as compared with 11 percent for all employers combined. In the case of operatives, blacks got 51 percent of the rise in jobs reported by EEOC firms, while in the total economy, the increase in such jobs held by blacks was nearly three times as large as the increase in the total. In the case of laborers, blacks in EEOC firms accounted for 15 percent of the rise in employment--although a

Table 4
Total and EEOC-Reported Employment: 1966 and 1974

OCCUPATION	1966						1974					
	Total Employment[1]			EEOC-Reported Employment[2]			Total Employment			EEOC-Reported Employment		
	Total Number	Black Number	Black % of Total	Total Number	Black Number	Black % of Total	Total Number	Black Number	Black % of Total	Total Number	Black Number	Black % of Total
Total Employment	67,325	6,487	9.6	25,573	2,087	8.2	81,660	8,588	10.5	31,603	3,484	11.6
White Collar	33,068	1,644	5.0	10,997	278	2.5	41,739	2,977	7.1	14,668	868	5.9
Prof. & Technical	9,310	551	5.9	2,834	68	5.3	12,338	970	7.9	3,833	180	10.5
Professional	---	---	---	1,693	22	1.3	---	---	---	2,387	73	3.1
Technical	---	---	---	1,141	46	4.0	---	---	---	1,446	107	7.4
Managers & Officials	7,405	207	2.8	2,084	17	0.8	8,941	379	4.2	3,127	88	2.8
Sales Workers	4,541	138	3.0	1,802	43	2.4	5,417	214	4.0	2,714	149	5.5
Clerical Workers	11,812	748	6.3	4,277	150	3.5	15,043	1,414	9.4	4,994	451	9.0
Blue Collar	26,950	3,300	12.2	12,615	1,357	10.8	29,776	3,748	12.6	14,515	2,043	14.1
Craftsmen	9,589	600	6.3	3,630	132	3.7	11,477	874	7.6	4,227	293	6.9
Operatives	13,829	1,782	12.9	6,507	701	10.8	13,919	2,041	14.7	7,413	1,165	15.7
Laborers	3,532	918	26.0	2,478	524	21.1	4,380	833	19.0	2,875	585	20.3
Service Workers	7,308	1,544	21.1	1,961	452	23.0	10,145	1,863	18.4	2,420	573	23.7

[1] Excluding private household and farm workers.

[2] Reported to U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by firms with 100 or more employees.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Manpower Report of the President, April, 1975, Tables A-15, p. 225; A-16, p. 227, and G-10, p. 347.

decline in the number of laborers in the economy at large offset about 10 percent of the increase in employment in this category.

On the basis of these figures, I conclude that the companies reporting under the EEOC requirements are opening jobs to blacks at a rate much faster than is true for all employers in the country as a whole. At the same time, however, it appears that the expansion is much slower in the upper reaches of the occupational scale than it is among job categories at the lower end. Thus, the task of occupational upgrading for blacks remains considerable.

B. Race, Sex, and Equal Opportunity

In recent years, the black community has been concerned about what appears to be a countermove in the campaign to enhance equal opportunity. This countermove appears in a variety of forms, but the main thrust is frequently expressed in changes of "reverse discrimination" against whites--especially against white men. But blacks are also becoming apprehensive over the extent to which the strong drive for equal opportunity on the part of white women might have an adverse effect on blacks--especially on black men.

The first concern extends well beyond the specific competition for jobs. It is also manifested in the spreading controversy over admissions standards for colleges and universities and in the debate over staffing patterns in institutions of higher education. It is argued by some that "open admissions" policies, designed to expand opportunities for blacks and others to get a college education, have lowered standards and are a threat to the quality of higher education. In a similar vein, some critics feel that federal government guidelines aimed at increased employment and upgrading of women and members of minority groups on college and university faculties are setting targets that can only be reached by lowering standards. As seen by the black community, these criticisms are leading to a narrowing of the goals of equal opportunity and--if allowed to continue--will lead to a significant slowing of the pace of progress.

Blacks' concerns over the foregoing developments can be documented but not measured. But the question of whether white women are gaining jobs at the expense of black men can be quantified to some extent. For this purpose, the data collected by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission are helpful. In 1966, white women held 28.0 percent of the 25.6 million jobs reported by the EEOC firms shown in Table 4. Black men held 5.7 percent of the total. By 1974, total EEOC-reported employment had risen to 31.6 million jobs. White women's share of the total had risen to 30.1 percent (a gain of 2 percentage points), and the share of black men had climbed to 6.5 percent of the total (a gain of only 0.8 percentage points). Over the same time span, the share of total jobs held by white men had decreased from 60.7 percent to 53.4 percent. The share held by black women had risen from 2.5 percent to 4.1 percent. Members of minority groups other than blacks (American Indians, Orientals, and Spanish-speaking groups) had raised their share of the total from 3.1 percent to 5.4 percent. Thus, the share of jobs held by white men declined over the eight-year period, and the loss was represented as relative gains by minority groups other than blacks, by white women, by black women, and by black men--in that order.

Much of the focus is really at the competition for white collar jobs--particularly for those at the top of the occupational ladder. Between 1966 and 1974, white men's share of total white collar jobs declined by 6.5 percentage points to 53.8 percent of the total. The fraction of such jobs held by white women rose by 1.3 percentage points to 40.4 percent. Black women's share rose by 2.2 percentage points to 3.8 percent of the total. The fraction held by black men increased by 1.2 percentage points to 2.1 percent of the total. The share held by other minority groups rose by 1.8 percentage points to 3.8 percent of all white collar jobs. But the most striking changes occurred in the distribution of professional jobs. In this case, the fraction of such jobs held by white men decreased by 16.6 percentage points--to 67.0 percent of the total in 1974. A substantial

proportion of this loss appeared as an increase of 12.8 percentage points in the share of such jobs held by white women--raising their proportion to 25.9 percent of the total. The shares of black men and black women each rose 0.9 percentage points, and black men and women each accounted for about 1 1/2 percent of the total. In 1974, white men held 83.0 percent of the managerial jobs on the payrolls of EEOC-reporting firms. This was a decrease of 6.0 percentage points since 1966. About half of this relative loss (2.8 percentage points) appeared as a gain in the position of white women--raising their share of the total of such jobs to 12.0 percent. The fraction held by black men moved up by 0.5 percentage points to 2.1 percent of the total. The fraction held by black women rose by 0.2 percentage points to 0.7 percent of the total. Other minority groups raised their fraction by 1.2 percentage points to 2.2 percent of the total.

In conclusion, the foregoing data suggest that--at the margin--white women have increased their share of the higher-paying jobs at a rate slightly faster than their representation in total employment. In contrast, all other groups--black men, black women, and other minorities--have experienced relatively more modest improvements. Although white men saw their share of total employment (and especially among the better-paying occupations) decline slightly over the eight-year period, they still command the heights of the occupational ladder, with little or no challenge. Consequently, it is toward those heights that blacks must look as they seek to improve their occupational status in the years ahead.

VI. BLACKS IN PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYMENT

The foregoing discussion has dwelt on trends in black employment in the private sector. At this point, we should focus on the mixed picture in the public sector. Historically, a larger proportion of employed blacks (especially of those in professional positions) have been on the public payroll than has been true for the population as a whole. For example, although blacks represented about 10 percent of total employment in nonfarm occupations in private industry in 1974, they accounted for 16.0 percent of all civilian employees in the federal government. Moreover, while federal employment represented 2.8 percent of the total jobs in the economy in 1974, about 4.8 percent of the blacks in civilian jobs were on the federal payroll.

Behind these overall statistics is an even heavier reliance by blacks on the public sector for a disproportionate share of the better jobs they hold. The extent of this reliance was fully documented in the 1960 and the 1970 Census of Population. In 1960, employment in public administration at the federal, state, and local levels accounted for about 4.9 percent of total employment. The percentage of blacks so employed was roughly the same, 5.0 percent. However, although just 6 percent of all professional and technical workers were employed by public agencies, 7.3 percent of black workers in the same occupations were employed by such agencies. By 1970, public administration represented 5.5 percent of total employment, but the proportion for blacks had risen to 6.6 percent.

An updated picture of black workers' reliance on public sector employment is presented in Table 5. These data show all civilian workers 14 years of age and over, by class of worker, by race, and by total money earnings in 1974. In that year, blacks accounted for 9.6 percent of the total number of jobs reported. However, they represented 12.9 percent of all the government wage and salary

workers, as compared with 9.4 percent of those in the private sector. They held 14.2 percent of the federal government jobs, as compared with 9.5 percent of those in state and local governments. Moreover, public sector employment represented 21.6 percent of the total number of jobs held by blacks, but the corresponding proportion for all workers was only 16.1 percent. These data also show that blacks were much more heavily dependent on public service employment than were either white workers or workers of other races.

For black workers, public sector jobs tend to pay much better than the jobs they hold in the private sector, as compared with the situation among white workers. For example, in 1974, the average black government employee earned $6,464, as compared with the average of $5,125 earned by blacks on private payrolls. The government jobs were paying about 26 percent more, on the average. The average pay of white workers on government payrolls was $8,600 in 1974, as compared with $7,533 in the private sector. In this case, the government jobs were paying 14 percent more. In public service, the average compensation of blacks was 75 percent of that of whites. In the private sector, blacks' compensation was only 68 percent of that of whites. Finally, while the black workers reported in Table 5 earned 6.8 percent of the total income in 1974, their share of total private sector earnings was 6.6 percent--and their share of total earnings in the public sector amounted to 10 percent.

The reasons for this much greater reliance of blacks on public sector employment are clearly understood. Partly because of the existence of a racially segregated school system in the United States for a very long time, black public school teachers and administrators found relatively greater opportunity within the parallel system. In addition, for political reasons (especially in the North and West), blacks historically have gotten a share of the local public service jobs. At the federal level, especially in recent years, blacks have found a much more hospitable environment in the public sector than was true in private industry. The

Table 5
Class of Worker and Total Money Earnings in 1974,
Civilian Workers 14 Years Old and Over by Race
(Numbers in Thousands; Amounts in Millions of Dollars)

CLASS OF WORKER	ALL WORKERS				BLACK WORKERS				WHITE WORKERS				WORKERS OF OTHER RACES			
	Number of Workers		Total Earnings		Number of Workers		Total Earnings		Number of Workers		Total Earnings		Number of Workers		Total Earnings	
	Number	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
TOTAL	102,402	100.0	$772,387	100.0	9,800	100.0	$52,807	100.0	91,042	100.0	$707,990	100.0	1,560	100.0	$11,590	100.0
Private Wage and Salary Workers: Total	77,928	76.1	568,903	73.6	7,360	75.1	37,717	71.4	69,418	76.3	522,943	73.9	1,150	73.7	8,243	71.1
Agriculture	2,329	2.3	6,296	0.8	298	3.0	570	1.1	1,983	2.2	5,679	0.8	48	3.1	47	0.4
Nonagricultural Inds.	75,599	73.8	562,607	72.8	7,062	72.1	37,147	70.3	67,435	74.1	517,264	73.1	1,102	70.6	8,196	70.7
Government Wage and Salary Workers: Total	16,468	16.1	136,623	17.7	2,118	21.6	13,691	25.9	14,044	15.4	120,779	17.1	306	19.7	2,153	18.6
Public Administration	5,184	5.1	51,367	6.7	601	6.1	4,693	8.9	4,458	4.9	45,728	6.5	125	8.1	946	8.2
Federal	2,301	2.3	26,914	3.5	327	3.3	2,993	5.7	1,906	2.1	23,381	3.3	68	4.4	540	4.7
Other	2,883	2.8	24,453	3.2	274	2.8	1,700	3.2	2,552	2.8	22,347	3.2	57	3.7	406	3.5
Other Govt. Workers	11,284	11.0	85,256	11.0	1,517	15.5	8,998	17.0	9,586	10.5	75,051	10.6	181	11.6	1,207	10.4
Self-Employment: Total	7,710	7.5	66,318	8.6	306	3.1	1,377	2.6	7,305	8.0	63,782	9.0	99	6.3	1,159	10.0
Agriculture	1,957	1.9	12,530	1.6	72	0.7	210	0.4	1,872	2.0	12,228	1.7	13	0.8	92	0.8
Nonagricultural Inds.	5,753	5.6	53,788	7.0	234	2.4	1,167	2.2	5,433	6.0	51,554	7.3	86	5.5	1,067	9.2
Unpaid Family Workers: Total	295	0.3	543	0.1	16	0.2	22	0.1	275	0.3	486	---	4	0.3	35	0.3
Agriculture	180	0.2	264	---	11	0.1	---	---	169	0.2	---	---	---	---	---	---
Nonagricultural Inds.	115	0.1	279	---	5	0.1	---	---	106	0.1	---	---	4	0.3	---	---

official effort to expand equal opportunity during the last decade brought particularly striking results in the federal government--at least in terms of the lower and middle grades of the classified federal service.

But as I reflect on these data, I find them more disturbing than comforting. In the years ahead, the principal expansion of employment is likely to be in the private sector. If blacks are to share fully in this expansion, they must make accelerated progress in private sector employment. This is especially true with respect to the better-paying occupations.

VII. BLACKS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

During the last five years, the distribution of money income in the United States has become more unequal, and economic equity has deteriorated. This is a reversal of the trends during the preceding decade. A surface review of the data on income distribution might suggest that relative income shares have remained essentially unchanged since the end of World War II. A closer examination of the latest evidence, however, identifies a marked tendency toward inequality among a number of segments of the population during the first half of the 1970s.

In general, over the last five years, income has been redistributed so as to favor whites as compared with blacks; the better off as compared with the poor; and the newer regions of the country as compared with the old. The key factors producing this result can be readily identified: the strong expansion of the nation's economy during the 1960s opened a wide range of opportunities for blacks, poor people, and the least skilled to participate more fully in the mainstream of economic activity. Correspondingly, they got a somewhat larger share of total income. The same was true of those regions of the country (especially the South) from which blacks were migrating in substantial numbers.

In contrast, during the last five years--under the combined impact of high inflation rates and slower economic growth--these disadvantaged groups have fallen further behind the more fortunate members of society. Moreover, the outlook for a more equal distribution of income over the rest of this decade is far from bright. Partly because of higher energy prices and a reduced rate of capital formation--but above all because of the overall thrust of national economic policy--the growth rate of the American economy up to the 1980s will probably fall far below its potential. Under these circumstances, the drift toward greater inequality may continue. These principal points are amplified further in this section.

A. Trends and Distribution of Income

In 1974, the median income of American families amounted to $12,836 (see Table 6). This means that half of the 55.7 million families in the country had incomes above this figure and half had incomes below it. In 1947, the median family income was $3,031. Therefore, during the course of these 27 years, median family income rose by roughly 325 percent. This increase represented an annual average rate of growth of 5.5 percent.

A substantial fraction of this increase, however, was due to inflation rather than to a rise in real purchasing power. For example, to adjust for inflation, the median income in both years might be expressed in terms of constant 1974 dollars. This adjustment raises the median family income from $6,694 in 1947 to $12,836 in 1974. These figures suggest an increase of about 92 percent in real median income between 1947 and 1974. This works out to an average annual rise of about 2.5 percent--as against the 5.5 percent increase registered before inflation was taken into account.

During the last five years, reflecting both inflation and the impact of recessions in the American economy, real median income registered virtually no net expansion. For instance, between 1947 and 1969, real median family income climbed from $6,690 to $12,690. This rise represented a gain of 90 percent--or an annual average rate of growth of 3.0 percent. But from 1969 through 1974, real median family income increased from $12,690 to $12,836. This increase was a net gain of only 1.2 percent over the five-year period--which works out to an annual average rate of growth very close to zero.

This virtual cessation in the growth of real family income over the last five years should be kept in mind. It has a considerable bearing on--and helps to explain--the noticeable slowdown in the pace at which blacks and other minority groups are narrowing the gap between whites and themselves. When we look specifically at blacks, as shown in Table 6, we see that the median income of families headed by blacks (or members of other races) amounted to $8,265 in 1974. In the same year,

Table 6
Median Income of Families by Race of Head:
Selected Years, 1947-74

YEAR	Total	White	Black and Other Races	Black	PER CENT OF WHITE		INCOME GAP (BLACK LESS WHITE)	
					Black and Other Races	Black	Black and Other Races	Black
1947	$3,031	$3,157	$1,614	NA	51.1	---	$1,543	---
1954	4,173	4,339	2,410	NA	55.5	---	1,929	---
1959	5,417	5,893	3,161	3,047	53.6	51.7	2,732	$2,846
1960	5,620	5,835	3,233	NA	55.4	---	2,602	
1964	6,569	6,858	3,839	3,724	56.0	54.3	3,019	3,134
1969	9,433	9,794	6,191	5,999	63.2	61.2	3,603	3,795
1973	12,051	12,595	7,596	7,269	60.3	57.7	4,999	5,326
1974	12,836	13,356	8,265	NA	61.9	---	5,091	---

NA Not available.

Sources: (1) U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Consumer Income: "Money Income in 1974 of Families and Persons in the United States," Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 101, January, 1976, Table 13, p. 24; (2) The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1974, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 54, July, 1975, Table 9, p. 25.

the median income for white families was $13,356. These figures represent sizable increases as compared with 1973 levels. Again, however, the rise was due entirely to inflation. The median income for all families in the nation rose by 7 percent in 1974, but after correction for the 11 percent rise in prices between 1973 and 1974, there was a decline of 4 percent. In the case of both black and white families, median income in real terms decreased by 3 percent and 4 percent, respectively, in 1974.

Measured in current dollars, the median family income of blacks and other races in 1974 was about 62 percent of that of white families. Thus, although the ratio is considerably higher than it was a decade ago (56 percent in 1964), it has declined slightly in recent years--from the 63 percent recorded in 1969. Moreover, in absolute terms, families headed by blacks or members of other racial minority groups received an average of $5,091 less than white families in 1974. They received $1,543 less in 1947; $2,602 less in 1960; and $3,603 less in 1969. This difference was equal to 61 percent of the incomes of blacks and other racial minorities in 1974, whereas the proportions were 80 percent and 58 percent, respectively, in 1960 and 1969. Of course, given the wide gap between black and white incomes that prevailed in earlier years, the absolute income gap would widen over time as both blacks and whites continue to experience advances in income. The size of the gap, however, is another reminder of the extent to which economic well-being in the black community continues to fall short of that experienced by whites.

Before turning away from these figures, we should note that they describe the income of families headed by blacks and members of other racial minority groups. These figures were used because they are the latest available. But we do have figures for blacks alone for selected years through 1973. These, too, are shown in Table 6. For example, in 1973, the incomes of black families taken alone were only 58 percent of those of white families--2 percentage points below the ratio that applies to blacks and other races combined.

In the same year, the absolute gap between the mean income of black families and that of white families was $5,326--about 6 1/2 percent wider than that between blacks and other minority groups. A similar relationship can be traced over the last decade and a half. For example, in 1959, incomes of blacks were 52 percent of those of whites, as compared with 54 percent for all racial minorities; the parallel figures were 54 percent as compared with 56 percent in 1964, and 61 percent as compared with 63 percent in 1969.

Therefore, although most of the evidence on which this discussion is based refers to blacks and other racial minorities, the fact that blacks are relatively less well off than the latter in terms of income should be kept in mind.

B. Income Distribution in the United States

One of the most common ways to assess inequality in the distribution of income is to calculate the share of total money income before taxes that is received by each fifth of families--after the families have first been ranked by the size of their total income.4/ These calculations have been made for families in the United States, by the race of the head of the family, for selected years 1947 through 1974. The results are shown in Table 7.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these data. First, it will be noted that over the last quarter century, there has been very little variation in the share of aggregate income received by each fifth of the families. However, there has been a slight decline in the fraction of total income received by the top 5 percent of families. This proportion declined from 17.5 percent in 1947 to 15.3 percent in 1974. It will also be noted that between 1964 and 1969, the share of total income received by the 20 percent of families at the lower end of the distribution did rise somewhat, but between 1969 and 1974, this group's share of income receded slightly. This development is not surprising when one recalls that the last five years of sluggish economic performance in the United States have been particularly difficult years for those in the low-income category.

4/ A comprehensive discussion of this subject can be found in Economic Report of the President, 1974, Chapter 5, "Distribution of Income," pp. 137 - 180.

The figures in Table 7 also enable one to compare the way in which income is distributed among the respective black and white populations. It should be noted that in each of the years shown, the lowest fifth of black families have received a smaller fraction of the total income of the black community than was true of the lowest fifth in the white community. The opposite is true of those black families in the upper part of the distribution. In fact, in every segment from the lowest through the middle fifth, black families received a smaller fraction of the total income than did their white counterparts. Those black families constituting the upper 40 percent of income recipients received a noticeably larger fraction of the total income than the upper 40 percent of white families. The same pattern generally held for the top 5 percent of black families, as compared with the top 5 percent of white families.

These figures also indicate that black family income has historically been less equally distributed than white family income--although the differences between the two groups have narrowed slightly over the last decade. However, in recent periods of declining or slow economic growth, the differences in the income distribution for black and white families have increased. These differences were marked during the 1969-70 recession, and they became even sharper during the 1973-75 period of shrinking economic activity.

In general, the observed pattern of income distribution implies that lower-income black families receive an even smaller proportion of total money income than do lower-income white families in periods of reduced economic growth. Some of the greater sensitivity of the income of black families to cyclical slowdowns may be explained by the fact that a rapidly increasing proportion of black families are headed by females. For example, in 1975, about 35.3 percent of all black families were headed by female, as compared with 10.5 percent of all white families. Thus, proportionately, nearly three-and-a-half times as many black families as white families were headed by women. The figure was two-and-a-half times in 1960. In addition, the average number of earners in black families is below that for white families. In 1975, about 39.8 percent of all

Table 7
Percentage Share of Aggregate Income Before Taxes
Received by Each Fifth and Top Five Per Cent of Families
by Race of Head: Selected Years, 1947-74

INCOME RANK	1947	1954	1960	1964	1969	1974
ALL RACES						
Per Cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest Fifth	5.1	4.5	4.8	5.1	5.6	5.4
Second Fifth	11.8	12.0	12.2	12.0	12.4	12.0
Middle Fifth	16.7	17.6	17.8	17.7	17.7	17.6
Fourth Fifth	23.2	24.0	24.0	24.0	23.7	24.1
Highest Fifth	43.3	41.9	41.3	41.2	40.6	41.0
Top 5 Per Cent	17.5	16.4	15.9	15.9	15.6	15.3
WHITE						
Per Cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest Fifth	5.5	4.9	5.2	5.5	5.9	5.8
Second Fifth	12.2	12.4	12.7	12.4	12.7	12.3
Middle Fifth	16.9	17.5	17.8	17.8	17.8	17.6
Fourth Fifth	22.8	23.8	23.7	23.8	23.5	23.8
Highest Fifth	42.6	41.4	40.7	40.5	40.1	40.5
Top 5 Per Cent	17.4	16.2	15.7	15.7	15.4	15.1
BLACK[1]						
Per Cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest Fifth	4.8	3.6	3.7	4.4	4.8	4.6
Second Fifth	10.2	10.0	9.7	10.5	10.9	10.0
Middle Fifth	15.7	17.2	16.5	16.2	16.9	16.2
Fourth Fifth	23.6	25.8	25.2	24.2	24.7	25.0
Highest Fifth	45.8	43.4	44.9	44.7	42.7	44.2
Top 5 Per Cent	17.0	15.5	16.2	16.9	15.2	15.9

[1]Negro and other races, of which blacks constitute 90 per cent.

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Consumer Income "Money Income in 1974 of Families and Persons in the United States," Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 101, January, 1976, Table 22, p. 37.

white families had two or more earners, while the corresponding fraction of black families was 35.8 percent.

Thus, although black families have made some progress in improving their income position relative to whites, black income still lags far behind the income of white families--given the distribution of the two groups in the nation's population. In addition, averages for blacks as a whole may disguise a deteriorating situation for lower-income black families.

C. Amount and Sources of Income

In 1974, total money income before taxes received by families and individuals in the United States amounted to $922.2 billion. Of this total, whites received $846.2 billion and blacks and other racial minority groups received $76.0 billion (see Table 8). Thus, although whites constituted 88.1 percent of the total number of families and individuals reported, they received 91.8 percent of aggregate income. In contrast, blacks and other racial groups accounted for 11.9 percent of all families and individuals, but they received only 8.2 percent aggregate income.

The data in Table 8 show that over the last 20 years, the fraction of total money received by blacks has grown from 5.8 percent in 1954 to 6.7 percent in 1964, to 7.3 percent in 1969, and to 8.2 percent in 1974. But over these same years, blacks were also becoming a larger fraction of the total population, climbing from 10.1 percent in 1954, to 10.7 percent in 1964, to 11.0 percent in 1969, and to 11.9 percent in 1974. Thus, over the last two decades, the gap between blacks' share of the population and their share of income has narrowed very little. The difference amounted to 4.3 percentage points in 1954, 4.0 percentage points in 1964, and 3.7 percentage points in 1969. Between 1969 and 1974, there was no further change at all.

Table 8
Total Money Income Before Taxes Received by Families and Individuals by Race of Head: Selected Years, 1954-74

CATEGORY	1954 Amount	1954 Per Cent	1964 Amount	1964 Per Cent	1969 Amount	1969 Per Cent	1974 Amount	1974 Per Cent
Number: Families and Individuals	51,675	100.0	59,892	100.0	65,689	100.0	74,584	100.0
White	46,467	89.9	53,497	89.3	58,495	89.0	65,703	88.1
Black	5,208	10.1	6,395	10.7	7,194	11.0	8,881	11.9
Families	41,951	81.2	47,835	79.9	51,237	78.0	55,713	74.7
White	38,185	73.9	43,081	72.0	46,022	70.1	49,451	66.3
Black	3,766	7.3	4,654	7.9	5,215	7.9	6,262	8.4
Individuals	9,724	18.8	12,057	20.1	14,452	22.0	18,871	25.3
White	8,282	16.0	10,416	17.4	12,473	19.0	16,252	21.8
Black	1,442	2.8	1,641	2.7	1,979	3.0	2,619	3.5
Total: Money Income								
Aggregate Income ($ Mil.)								
Total	216,341	100.0	388,137	100.0	603,300	100.0	922,241	100.0
Families	197,837	91.4	350,960	90.4	541,914	89.8	807,911	87.6
Individuals	18,504	8.6	37,177	9.6	61,386	10.2	114,330	12.4
Mean Income (Dollars)								
Families	4,714		7,336		10,577		14,502	
Individuals	1,928		3,078		4,248		6,059	
White: Money Income								
Aggregate Income ($ Mil.)								
Total	203,807	94.2	362,137	93.3	559,384	92.7	846,249	91.8
Families	187,450	86.6	328,493	84.6	504,079	83.6	744,089	80.7
Individuals	16,357	7.6	33,644	8.7	55,305	9.1	102,160	11.1
Mean Income (Dollars)								
Families	4,909		7,625		10,953		15,047	
Individuals	1,975		3,230		4,434		6,286	
Black[1]: Money Income								
Aggregate Income ($ Mil.)								
Total	12,534	5.8	26,000	6.7	43,916	7.3	75,992	8.2
Families Individuals	10,387	4.8	22,467	5.8	37,835	6.3	63,822	6.9
Individuals	2,147	1.0	3,533	0.9	6,081	1.0	12,170	1.3
Mean Income (Dollars)								
Families	2,758		4,726		7,255		10,192	
Individuals	1,489		2,153		3,073		4,647	

[1]Negro and other races, of which blacks constitute 90 per cent of the total.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Consumer Income: "Money Income in 1974 of Families and Persons in the United States," Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 101, January, 1976, calculated by author from Table 11, pp. 21 and 22, and Table 22, pp. 37 and 38.

In absolute terms, the income gap remains quite large. For example, in 1974, the black population in the United States was estimated at 24.0 million by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, which also put the total population at 211.0 million. Thus, blacks represented 11.1 percent of the total. (It should be noted that these figures refer to blacks only rather than to blacks and other racial minorities.) In the same year, blacks' income amounted to $62.9 billion, representing 6.8 percent of the $922.2 billion received in the nation as a whole. Therefore, as compared with the situation in either 1960 or 1969 (when blacks' share was 6.2 percent and 6.4 percent, respectively), blacks have improved their income position slightly in recent years. On the other hand, if they had also received 11.1 percent of total income in 1974--thus matching their share of the total population--their cash receipts in that year would have amounted to $102.4 billion--or $32.5 billion more than they actually received. The explanation of this shortfall is widely known: a legacy of racial discrimination and deprivation has limited blacks' ability to acquire marketable skills while barring them from better-paying jobs.

Still other insights into the income situation among blacks and whites are provided by the figures in Tables 9 and 10, which show the sources and distribution of income of families and unrelated individuals, by race of head, in 1974. These data also might help to correct a number of false impressions about the ways in which blacks obtain their income.

In the first place, it will be noted that blacks work for their income to about the same extent as do whites. Roughly 83 cents of each dollar of black income was derived from earnings in 1974, as compared with 84 cents for whites. Yet, significant differences do exist and can be traced when earnings are broken down into specific types of receipts. Just over four-fifths of blacks' total income consisted of wages and salaries--as compared with just over three-fourths for whites.

Table 9
Type of Income Received by Families and Unrelated Individuals by Race of Head: 1974
(Amounts in Millions of Dollars)

TYPE OF INCOME	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACKS AND OTHER RACES		BLACKS		OTHER RACES	
	Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
Total Income	922,260	100.0	846,265	100.0	75,995	100.0	62,949	100.0	13,046	100.0
EARNINGS	775,036	84.0	711,310	84.0	63,726	83.8	52,190	82.9	11,536	88.4
Wage or Salary Income	706,352	76.6	645,199	76.2	61,153	80.5	50,779	80.7	10,374	79.5
Nonfarm Self-Employment Income	56,350	6.1	53,965	6.4	2,385	3.1	1,305	2.0	1,080	8.3
Farm Self-Employment Income	12,334	1.3	12,146	1.4	188	0.2	106	0.2	82	0.6
INCOME OTHER THAN EARNINGS	147,224	16.0	134,955	16.0	12,269	16.2	10,759	17.1	1,510	11.6
Social Security and Govt. Railroad Retirement	51,402	5.6	47,020	5.6	4,382	5.8	3,995	6.3	387	3.0
Dividends, Interest, Net Rental Income, Income from Estates, Trusts, and Net Royalties	41,942	4.5	41,084	4.9	858	1.1	436	0.7	422	3.2
Public Assistance and Welfare Payments	10,234	1.1	6,395	0.8	3,839	5.1	3,696	5.9	143	1.1
Unemployment and Workmen's Compensation, Govt. Employee Pensions, and Veteran's Payments	26,079	2.8	24,092	2.8	1,987	2.6	1,734	2.8	253	1.9
Private Pensions, Annuities, Alimony, etc.	17,567	2.0	16,364	1.9	1,203	1.6	898	1.4	305	2.3

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Consumer Income: "Money Income in 1974 of Families and Persons in the United States," Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 101, January, 1976, pp. 97-99.

Table 10
Percentage Distribution of Money Income
by Type of Income and Race of Head: 1974

TYPE OF INCOME	Total	White	Black and Other Races	Blacks	Other Races
Total Income	100.0	91.8	8.2	6.8	1.4
EARNINGS	100.0	91.8	8.2	6.7	1.5
Wage or Salary Income	100.0	91.3	8.7	7.2	1.5
Nonfarm Self-Employment Income	100.0	95.8	4.2	2.3	1.9
Farm Self-Employment Income	100.0	98.5	1.5	0.9	0.6
INCOME OTHER THAN EARNINGS	100.0	91.7	8.3	7.3	1.0
Social Security and Govt. Railroad Retirement	100.0	91.5	8.5	7.8	0.7
Dividends, Interest, Net Rental Income, Income from Estates, Trusts, and Net Royalties	100.0	98.0	2.0	1.0	1.0
Public Assistance and Welfare Payments	100.0	62.5	37.5	36.1	1.4
Unemployment and Workmen's Compensation, Govt. Employee Pensions, and Veteran's Payments	100.0	92.4	7.6	6.6	1.0
Private Pensions, Annuities, Alimony, etc.	100.0	93.2	6.8	5.1	1.7
Total Number: Families and Individuals (Thousands)	74,584	65,703	8,881	7,845	1,036
Per Cent	100.0	88.1	11.9	10.5	1.4

Source: Table 4.

Only 2 percent of blacks' income was obtained from nonfarm self-employment--against about 6.5 percent for whites. This difference is clearly a reflection of the much smaller incidence of business ownership and independent professional practice among blacks.

Income sources other than earnings provided about 17 percent of total receipts for blacks and about 16 percent of white receipts. However, the detailed sources differed markedly in several instances. Two sources were quite close: Social Security and railroad retirement receipts represented 6.3 percent of the total for blacks and 5.6 percent for whites. Unemployment and workmen's compensation represented identical fractions for both groups (2.8 percent). On the other hand, private pension funds were a slightly less important source of income for blacks than for whites--1.4 percent as against 1.9 percent of the total, respectively.

But the major divergence between blacks and whites with respect to a specific income source is found in the case of public assistance and welfare. In 1974, this source provided $3.7 billion (or 5.9 percent) of the total income of blacks. The figures for whites were $6.4 billion--or only 0.8 percent of the total. Thus, in 1974, about $10.2 billion of public assistance and welfare payments was received by families and individuals in the United States. Blacks received 36 percent of the total welfare payments--as compared with 6.8 percent of total income and with their 11 percent of the nation's total population.

The explanation of this heavier reliance on public assistance by blacks is widely known, but it might be helpful to reiterate the reasons: the incidence of poverty in the black community is roughly double that among whites, and, obviously welfare payments are made to the poor and not to the rich. Moreover, the principal component of welfare outlays is aid to families with dependent children (AFDC). The typical AFDC family is headed by a female, and the proportion of such families is greater among blacks than among whites. In recent years, black families have made up about half of all AFDC families, but they have accounted for less

than their proportionate share of all the families receiving aid to the blind, aged, and disabled.

In Table 11, one can trace in considerable detail the extent to which blacks share in the distribution of the principal types of income. For example, in 1974, blacks received 6.8 percent of total income and roughly the same fraction (6.7 percent) of aggregate earnings in the economy. They received a larger fraction (7.2 percent) of wage and salary income and a much smaller fraction of self-employment income--2.3 percent of total income from nonfarm self-employment and 0.9 percent of that from farming. Still other features of the income distribution might be noted. For instance, blacks received only 1 percent of the total income arising from dividends, interest, and other income from property investments. Although they received 6.6 percent of government transter payments in the form of unemployment and workmen's compensation, government employee pensions, and veterans' benefits, they received 5.1 percent of total private pensions, annuities, alimony, and similar transfers.

In turning away from these figures, we should keep several points in mind: blacks work for their income to roughly the same degree as whites. At the same time, the legacy of discrimination and deprivation have limited the accumulation of property by blacks and restricted their income from the ownership investments. These same adverse factors have kept blacks proportionately poor and have increased their reliance on public assistance. Yet welfare receipts amount to only a minimal fraction of the total income of blacks. Instead, wages and salaries are the principal source of blacks' spending money--the same as for whites.

D. Regional Distribution of Income

Between 1959 and 1974, the South and the West were the fastest-growing regions in the country. Although a substantial number of blacks moved out of the South to other sections of the country during these same years, the South continued to account for over half of the total black population in the country. In fact, a sharp slowdown in the rate of

out-migration of blacks from the South occurred over the last five years. For example, in 1959, 60.3 percent of the black population lived in the South. The fraction declined to 53.5 percent in 1969--but in 1974, the proportion was still 53.2 percent. The south also slightly raised its share of the total white population in the country--from 27.2 percent in 1959 to 27.8 percent in 1969 and to 29.0 percent in 1974. In terms of the total population, the South's share rose from 30.7 percent in 1959 to 30.8 percent in 1969 and to 31.8 percent in 1974.

Reflecting these population gains, as well as a high rate of regional economic development, the South made noticeable gains in its share of the nation's total money income between 1959 and 1969. Again, this was an outcome one would expect--given the faster pace of economic growth in the region as compared with the rest of the country. Simultaneously, an outcome that was not equally expected is the degree to which blacks in the South shared in the overall redistribution of income. The extent of the regional shift in incomes shares and the division between blacks and whites can be traced in Table 11. These data show the distribution of population and money income, by region and race, for the years 1959, 1969, and 1974.

In broad terms, of the $922.2 billion of total money income in 1974, residents of the South received $266.4 billion, residents of the North and West received $655.7 billion. In the nation as a whole, blacks and members of other racial minority groups received $76 billion, and whites received $846.3 billion. Other details describing trends in the regional distribution of income are also shown in the table.

The essence of the story, however, is told by the comparisons of population and income distributions among regions and between blacks and whites. These data clearly indicate the sizable shift in the distribution of income that occurred over the last decade and a half. For example, the

Table 11
Distribution of Population and Money Income by Region and Race of Head: 1959, 1969, and 1974

REGION	1959[1]				1969[1]				1974			
	Total	White	BLACKS		Total	White	BLACKS		Total	White	BLACKS	
			Number or Amount	Per Cent of U.S. Total			Number or Amount	Per Cent of U.S. Total			Number or Amount	Per Cent of U.S. Total
POPULATION												
United States	177.1	158.7	13.4	10.4	200.2	177.4	22.8	11.4	204.8	181.3	23.5	11.5
North and West	122.8	115.5	7.3	4.1	138.6	128.0	10.6	5.3	139.7	128.7	11.0	5.4
Northeast									49.5	45.3	4.2	2.1
North Central									55.5	50.8	4.7	2.3
West									34.7	32.6	2.1	1.0
South	54.3	43.2	11.1	6.3	61.6	49.4	12.2	6.1	65.1	52.6	12.5	6.1
PER CENT												
United States	100.0	100.0	100.0	---	100.0	100.0	100.0	---	100.0	100.0	100.0	---
North and West	69.3	72.8	39.7	---	69.2	72.2	46.5	---	68.2	71.0	46.8	---
Northeast									24.2	25.0	17.9	
North Central									27.1	28.0	20.0	---
West									16.9	18.0	8.9	---
South	30.7	27.2	60.3	---	30.8	27.8	53.5	---	31.8	29.0	53.2	---
MONEY INCOME[2]												
United States	$407.6	386.9	20.7	5.1	599.5	560.8	38.7	6.5	$922.3	846.3	76.0	8.2
North and West	307.8	296.2	11.6	2.8	439.2	417.1	22.1	3.9	655.7	609.3	46.4	
Northeast									221.2	205.9	15.3	1.7
North Central									258.0	242.1	15.9	1.7
West									176.5	161.3	15.2	1.6
South	99.8	90.7	9.1	2.3	160.3	143.7	16.6	3.0	266.6	237.0	29.6	3.2
PER CENT												
United States	100.0	100.0	100.0	---	100.0	100.0	100.0	---	100.0	100.0	100.0	---
North and West	75.5	76.6	56.0	---	73.3	74.4	57.1	---	71.1	72.0	61.1	---
Northeast									24.0	24.3	20.1	---
North Central									28.0	28.6	20.9	---
West									19.1	19.1	20.0	---
South	24.5	23.4	44.0	---	26.7	25.6	42.9	---	28.9	28.0	38.9	---

[1]Population figures are for 1960 and 1970, respectively.
[2]Income figures for 1959 are in 1969 dollars.
Source: 1959 and 1969, U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Social and Economic Characteristics of the Population in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas"; 1970 and 1960, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 37, June, 1971. 1974, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 55, September, 1975.

South had about the same proportion of the nation's population (30.7 percent) in both 1960 and 1970. Yet its share of total money income rose from 24.5 percent in 1959 to 26.7 percent in 1969. This was a gain of 2.1 percentage points. The North and West, with the residual population (69.3 percent), experienced a moderate shrinkage in its income share, from 75.5 percent to 73.3 percent--a loss of 2.2 percentage points. Although these may appear to be relatively small statistical changes, they represent a shift of $13.4 billion of total money income to the South. This shift was equal to 8.4 percent of the region's total income in 1969.

The other noticeable shift in income distribution was the rise in the share of total money income received by blacks in different regions of the country. They received 5.1 percent of the total in 1959 and 6.5 percent in 1969, a gain of 1.3 percentage points. This percentage change was equivalent to $8 billion--equal to 20 percent of blacks' total money income in 1969.

Within the black community, however, the bulk of the relative gain (three-fifths) accrued to blacks in the North and West, and only two-fifths accrued to blacks in the South. At the beginning of the decade, three-fifths of the black population was in the South, and two-fifths was in the North and West. However, the division of income between blacks in the North and West and those in the South was 57 percent and 44 percent, respectively, in 1959. Roughly the same proportionate division in income prevailed in 1969. On the other hand, high net migration rates drastically changed the distribution of the black population between the two regions, reducing the fraction in the South from 60 percent in 1960 to 54 percent in 1970. Thus a sizable improvement occurred in per capita as well as in total income of blacks in the South. For them, the change meant that their share of the nation's total money income rose from 2.3 percent in 1959 to 3.0 percent in 1969. This increase represented a shift of about $2.8 billion in their favor over the course of the decade.

Over the last five years, however, a striking change occurred in the distribution of the income of blacks in the country as compared with the distribution of the black population. For example, in 1974, there were 23.5 million blacks in the country. About 12.5 million of these (53 percent of the total) were in the South, and 11.1 million (47 percent of the total) were in the North and West. This geographic distribution of the black population was essentially the same as it had been in 1969. The money income received by blacks and other racial minority groups in 1974 amounted to $76.0 billion. Blacks in the South received $29.6 billion, and those in the North and West received $46.4 billion. Thus, blacks in the South--who represented 53 percent of the total black population--received only 39 percent of the total money income received by blacks. This latter figure was 4 percentage points below the corresponding proportion for 1969. On the other hand, blacks in the South in 1974 received 3.2 percent of the aggregate money income in the nation--as compared with 3.0 percent in 1969. If this latter percentage had persisted, in 1974, blacks would have received about $1.9 billion less than they actually got.

In contrast, the southern region, taken as a whole, increased its share of total income more than it did of the nation's total population. For instance, between 1969 and 1974, its share of the population climbed by 1 percentage point--from 30.8 percent to 31.8 percent of the total. Over the same years, its share of total income climbed by 2.2 percentage points--from 26.7 percent to 28.9 percent of aggregate income. Again, the rise in the ratio gave the South $20.4 billion more in income in 1974 that it would have gotten if the 1969 ratio had continued to prevail.

The most interesting story told by these changes in the regional distribution of income over the last five years relates to blacks. It

was noted earlier that the net migration of blacks from the South virtually came to a halt over the last five years. Thus, blacks in the South represented about the same proportion (6.1 percent) of the nation's total population in both 1969 and 1974. Between these two years, the share of the nation's total income received by blacks in the South rose from 3.0 percent to 3.2 percent. In contrast, blacks and other racial minorities in the North and West represented about 5.3 percent of the nation's total population in both years--but their share of total income expanded from 3.9 percent in 1969 to 5.0 percent in 1974. Consequently, although blacks in the South continued to experience relative improvement in their income position, the pace of progress slowed appreciably in the last five years.

This outcome is a direct reflection of the sluggish economic conditions that prevailed in the nation as a whole during much of this period. Although increased opportunity for blacks in the South has clearly induced more young blacks to remain in the region than would have been the case in the past, the slower growth of jobs in the rest of the country has also dampened their incentives to leave. In the past, the out-migration of many lower-income blacks contributed to the rise in per capita incomes in the South. With more such persons remaining in the region--where average incomes are lower than they are in the rest of the country--this has resulted in relatively less improvement in the income position of southern blacks.

VIII. LONG-TERM OUTLOOK FOR EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

At this point, we should look ahead to the kind of economic horizon--and the prospects for black employment--that might prevail at the end of this decade. It might be recalled that in early 1976, the federal government put in the public domain a revised set of forecasts and projections that suggested it would be necessary for this country to endure a slower rate of economic growth and a higher level of unemployment than we might like--if we were to make headway in fighting inflation during the rest of this decade. Working against the background of an average unemployment rate of 8.5 percent in 1975, the administration concluded that a rate of inflation of about 4 percent by 1981 (apparently its target) would be compatible with an unemployment rate of 5 percent in that year.

The rate of economic growth, however, is likely to be below the average of 6.5 percent per year, between 1975 and 1980, that was anticipated in the projection. For example, Data Resources Incorporated has projected an annual average rate of 4.6 percent for the same period. If the actual unemployment results are less promising than the administration anticipates, the consequences will be very bad for the nation at large--and disastrous for the black community. This fact can be readily seen in the figures in Table 12, which shows the civilian labor force, employment, and unemployment in 1974 and 1975 and projections for 1980--based on alternative unemployment assumptions for 1980. The unemployment rates assumed are (1) the 5.2 percent rate in the administration's forecast and (2) the 6.5 percent rate in the long-run forecast prepared by Data Resources Incorporated, which reflects the long-run adverse effects of the continuing slow economic expansion. The data are also broken down to show the projected black and white experiences separately.

Several features of these data deserve mentioning. If the national unemployment rate were to average 5.2 percent in 1980, it would represent substantial improvement as compared with the 8.5 percent rate experienced in 1975. Under

Table 12
Civilian Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment:
1974, 1975, and Projection to 1980
(Numbers in Millions)

CATEGORY	1974	1975	1980: Alternative Projections	
Total Unemployment Rate	5.6	8.5	5.2	6.5
Civilian Labor Force				
Total	91.0	92.6	100.2	100.2
White	80.7	82.1	88.1	88.1
Black	10.3	10.5	12.1	12.1
Per Cent of Total	11.4	11.4	12.1	12.1
Employment				
Total	85.9	84.8	95.0	93.7
White	76.6	75.7	83.9	83.0
Black	9.3	9.1	11.1	10.7
Per Cent of Total	10.8	10.7	11.7	11.4
Unemployment				
Total	5.1	7.8	5.2	6.5
White	4.1	6.4	4.2	5.1
Black	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.4
Per Cent of Total	20.1	18.6	19.2	21.5
Unemployment Rate				
White	5.0	7.8	4.8	5.8
Black	9.9	13.8	8.3	11.8
Black-White Ratio	1.98	1.76	1.73	2.02

Source: 1974 and 1975, Appendix Tables II-V. 1980 derived by author.

this assumption, the total number of jobless blacks would decrease from 1.5 million to 1.0 million. However, their share of total unemployment would rise slightly. On the other hand, the results of the 5.2 percent unemployment rate in 1980 would yield no net improvement for blacks (as far as unemployment is concerned), as compared with the situation that prevailed in 1974--which was already a recession year. In 1974, about 1.0 million blacks were unemployed--representing one-fifth of the total. In 1980, if the overall rate were 5.2 percent, the unemployment rate for blacks might be 8.3 percent, equivalent to 1.0 million idle black workers. On the other hand, if the national jobless rate were to approximate the 6.5 percent forecast by Data Resources Incorporated, the rate for blacks would be about 11.8 percent. This rate would represent 1.4 million blacks without jobs--or more than one-fifth of the total unemployed. The black-white unemployment ratio would return to the historical 2 to 1 pattern.

Therefore, if the higher national rate were to prevail at the end of this decade, the effects on blacks would be particularly adverse. Under those circumstances, blacks would have little chance to resume the progress (checked by two recessions) toward closing the job and income gaps they suffer vis-a-vis whites. Since early 1975, I have been urging the federal government to provide more stimulus to encourage a more vigorous recovery from the worst recession we have had since the Great Depression. I have been particularly distressed at the reluctance of the Federal Reserve System to use monetary policy more actively to promote an increased availability of credit and lower interest rates. The need for the U.S. Treasury to finance the exceptionally large deficit in the federal government's budget (which itself is mainly a reflection of the deep recession and slow recovery) makes it all the more necessary for the Federal Reserve to follow a sufficiently liberal monetary policy.

I understand the basis for the federal government's hesitation: it is deeply concerned with inflation and is anxious to avoid contributing to the revival of inflation at a double-digit pace. I agree that inflation is a serious and continuing problem, and the implementation of public policy must be cautious. However, we still have an enormous backlog of unused human and material resources, and this reserve will give us ample room for the expansion of production for quite some time before output begins to press against capacity. If such a policy were followed, the main beneficiaries would be poor whites, blacks, and members of other minority groups on the edges of the national economy--who now face considerably less than a hopeful prospect for the remainder of the present decade.

* * *

APPENDIX TABLES

Appendix Table 1
Civilian Labor Force Participation Rates[1] for Persons 16 Years and Over
by Color, Sex, and Age: Annual Averages, 1959-74

CATEGORY	Total, 16 Yrs. & Over	16&17 Years	18&19 Years	20-24 Years	25-34 Years	35-44 Years	45-54 Years	55-64 Years	65 Years & Over
BLACK									
Male									
1959	83.4	41.7	72.0	90.8	96.3	95.8	92.8	82.5	33.5
1961	82.2	42.5	70.5	89.7	95.9	94.8	92.3	81.6	29.4
1969	76.9	37.7	63.2	84.4	94.4	92.7	89.5	77.9	26.1
1974	73.3	34.6	62.4	82.1	92.3	90.9	84.7	70.2	21.7
Female									
1959	47.7	20.7	36.1	48.8	50.0	60.0	60.0	46.4	12.6
1961	48.3	21.6	44.6	47.7	51.2	60.5	61.1	45.2	13.1
1969	49.8	24.4	45.4	58.6	57.8	59.5	60.8	47.5	11.9
1974	49.1	24.2	44.6	58.2	60.8	61.5	56.9	43.5	10.0
WHITE									
Male									
1959	83.8	45.4	70.3	87.3	97.5	98.0	96.3	87.9	34.3
1961	83.0	44.3	66.2	87.6	97.7	97.9	95.9	87.8	31.9
1969	80.2	48.8	66.3	82.6	97.0	97.4	95.1	83.9	27.3
1974	79.4	53.3	73.6	86.5	96.3	96.7	93.0	78.1	22.5
Female									
1959	36.0	29.9	50.8	44.5	33.4	41.4	47.8	35.7	10.2
1961	36.9	29.4	51.9	46.9	34.3	41.8	48.9	37.2	10.5
1969	41.8	35.2	54.6	56.4	41.7	48.6	53.0	42.6	9.7
1974	45.2	43.3	60.4	63.8	51.1	53.7	54.3	40.4	8.0

[1]Percentage of civilian noninstitutional population in the civilian labor force.

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Appendix Table 2

Civilian Labor Force by Color, Sex, and Age: 1959-75
(Thousands)

YEAR	TOTAL				BLACK				WHITE			
	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19
					CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE							
1959	68,369	43,289	20,589	4,491	7,417	4,171	2,755	491	60,952	39,118	17,834	4,000
1961	70,460	43,860	21,665	4,935	7,804	4,313	2,918	573	62,656	39,547	18,747	4,362
1969	80,733	46,351	27,412	6,970	8,955	4,579	3,574	802	71,778	41,772	23,838	6,168
1974	91,012	50,363	31,836	8,813	10,334	5,168	4,220	946	80,678	45,195	27,616	7,867
1975	92,613	50,855	32,960	8,798	10,529	5,238	4,351	940	82,084	45,617	28,609	7,858
					PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION							
1959	100.0	63.3	30.1	6.6	10.8	6.1	4.0	0.7	89.2	57.2	26.1	5.9
1961	100.0	62.2	30.7	7.0	11.1	6.2	4.1	0.8	88.9	56.1	26.6	6.2
1969	100.0	57.4	34.0	8.6	11.1	5.7	4.4	1.0	88.9	51.7	29.5	7.6
1974	100.0	55.4	34.9	9.7	11.4	5.7	4.6	1.1	88.6	49.7	30.3	8.6
1975	100.0	54.9	35.6	9.5	11.4	5.7	4.7	1.0	88.6	49.2	30.9	8.5
					CHANGE							
1959-61	2,091	571	1,076	444	387	142	163	82	1,704	429	913	362
1961-69	10,273	2,491	5,747	2,035	1,151	266	656	229	9,122	2,225	5,091	1,806
1969-74	10,279	4,012	4,424	1,843	1,379	589	646	144	8,900	3,423	3,778	1,699
1974-75	1,601	492	1,124	-15	195	70	131	-6	1,406	422	993	-9
					PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION							
1959-61	100.0	27.3	51.5	21.2	18.5	6.8	7.8	3.9	81.5	20.5	43.7	17.3
1961-69	100.0	24.3	55.9	19.8	11.2	2.6	6.4	2.2	88.8	21.7	49.5	17.6
1969-74	100.0	39.0	43.1	17.9	13.4	5.7	6.3	1.4	86.6	33.3	36.8	16.5
1974-75	100.0	30.7	70.2	-0.9	12.2	4.4	8.2	-0.4	87.8	26.3	62.0	-0.5

Appendix Table 3
Employment, by Color, Sex, and Age: 1959-75
(Thousands)

YEAR	TOTAL				BLACK				WHITE			
	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19
					EMPLOYMENT							
1959	64,630	41,267	19,525	3,838	6,624	3,734	2,527	363	58,006	37,533	16,998	3,475
1961	65,746	41,342	20,297	4,107	6,833	3,809	2,610	414	58,913	37,533	17,687	3,693
1969	77,902	45,388	26,397	6,117	8,384	4,410	3,365	609	69,518	40,978	23,032	5,508
1974	85,936	48,445	30,088	7,403	9,316	4,815	3,866	635	76,620	43,630	26,222	6,768
1975	84,784	47,427	30,310	7,047	9,071	4,626	3,851	594	75,713	42,801	26,459	6,453
					PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION							
1959	100.0	63.9	30.2	5.9	10.2	5.8	3.9	0.5	89.8	58.1	26.3	5.4
1961	100.0	62.9	30.9	6.2	10.4	5.8	4.0	0.6	89.6	57.1	26.9	5.6
1969	100.0	58.3	33.9	7.8	10.8	5.7	4.3	0.8	89.2	52.6	29.6	7.0
1974	100.0	56.4	35.0	8.6	10.8	5.6	4.5	0.7	89.2	50.8	30.5	7.9
1975	100.0	56.0	35.7	8.3	10.7	5.5	4.5	0.7	89.3	50.5	31.2	7.6
					CHANGE							
1959-61	1,116	75	772	269	209	75	83	51	907	---	689	218
1961-69	12,156	4,046	6,100	2,010	1,551	601	755	195	10,605	3,445	5,345	1,815
1969-74	8,034	3,057	3,691	1,286	932	405	501	26	7,102	2,652	3,190	1,260
1974-75	-1,152	-1,018	222	-356	-245	-189	-15	-41	-907	-829	237	-315
					PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION							
1959-61	100.0	6.7	69.2	24.1	18.7	6.7	7.4	4.6	81.3	---	61.8	19.5
1961-69	100.0	33.3	50.2	16.5	12.8	5.0	6.2	1.6	87.2	28.3	44.0	14.9
1969-74	100.0	38.1	45.9	16.0	11.6	5.1	6.2	0.3	88.4	33.0	39.7	15.7
1974-75	100.0	88.4	-19.3	30.9	21.3	16.4	1.3	3.6	78.7	72.0	-20.6	27.3

Appendix Table 4
Unemployment, by Color, Sex, and Age: 1959-75
(Thousands)

YEAR	TOTAL				BLACK				WHITE			
	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19
						UNEMPLOYMENT						
1959	3,739	2,022	1,064	653	793	437	228	128	2,946	1,585	836	525
1961	4,714	2,518	1,368	828	971	504	308	159	3,743	2,014	1,060	669
1969	2,831	963	1,015	853	571	169	209	193	2,260	794	806	660
1974	5,076	1,918	1,748	1,410	1,018	353	354	311	4,058	1,565	1,394	1,099
1975	7,829	3,427	2,649	1,753	1,458	611	500	347	6,371	2,816	2,149	1,406
						PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION						
1959	100.0	54.1	28.5	17.4	21.2	11.7	6.1	3.4	78.8	42.4	22.4	14.0
1961	100.0	53.4	29.0	17.6	20.6	10.7	6.5	3.4	79.4	42.7	22.5	14.2
1969	100.0	34.0	35.9	30.1	20.2	6.0	7.4	6.8	79.8	28.0	28.5	23.3
1974	100.0	37.8	34.4	27.8	20.1	7.0	7.0	6.1	79.9	30.8	27.4	21.7
1975	100.0	43.8	33.8	22.4	18.6	7.8	6.4	4.4	81.4	36.0	27.4	18.0
						CHANGE						
1959-61	975	496	304	175	178	67	80	31	797	429	224	144
1961-69	-1,883	-1,555	-353	25	-400	-335	-99	34	-1,483	-1,220	-254	-9
1969-74	2,245	955	733	557	447	184	145	118	1,798	771	588	439
1974-75	2,753	1,509	901	343	440	258	146	36	2,313	1,251	755	307
						PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION						
1959-61	100.0	50.9	31.2	17.9	18.3	6.9	8.2	3.2	81.7	44.0	23.0	14.7
1961-69	100.0	82.6	18.7	-1.3	21.2	17.8	5.2	-1.8	78.8	64.8	13.5	0.5
1969-74	100.0	42.5	32.7	24.8	19.9	8.2	6.5	5.2	80.1	34.3	26.2	19.6
1974-75	100.0	54.8	32.7	12.5	16.0	9.4	5.3	1.3	84.0	45.4	27.4	11.2

Appendix Table 5
Unemployment Rates, by Color, Sex and Age: 1959-75
(Per Cent of Civilian Labor Force)

YEAR	TOTAL				BLACK				WHITE			
	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19	Total	Male 20 & Over	Female 20 & Over	Both Sexes 16-19
	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE											
1959	5.5	4.7	5.2	14.5	10.7	10.5	8.3	26.1	4.8	4.1	4.7	13.1
1961	6.7	5.7	6.3	16.8	12.4	11.7	10.6	27.7	6.0	5.1	5.7	15.3
1969	3.5	2.1	3.7	12.2	6.4	3.7	5.8	24.1	3.1	1.9	3.4	10.7
1974	5.6	3 8	5.5	16.0	9.9	6.8	8.4	32.9	5.0	3.5	5.0	14.0
1975	8.5	6.7	8.0	19.9	13.8	11.7	11.5	36.9	7.8	6.2	7.5	17.9

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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